

THE
D----- of A-----e's
LETTER

To the Right Honourable

Sir *****

Upon the Present Intended

EXPEDITIONS



L O N D O N :

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S I R,



THE unfeigned *Love* I bear to my Country, join'd to the Shock of seeing Her in her present woful Condition, the unshaken Allegiance I owe my Royal Master, my Attachment to the present Establishment, and the Sorrows of my Fellow Subjects, of which I can't chuse but partake, prevail over my *Inclination*, and induce me to recommend the following Lines to your Perusal, an Inclination which nothing but the above Considerations could have surmounted : Advice is received by most Persons with Regret, especially where it is attended with Circumstances like the present ; where we must point out Scenes of Error innumerable,

rable, and shew the Danger of continually walking on Precipices before we can bring the Wanderer back to his right Road. I dare say you will surprized at an Address of this Nature from me. And know Sir! that Nothing but the *Public Good* could have have induced me to it; I equally abhor the mean Artifices of servile *Flattery*, and *Revenge*; therefore at the same Time that I cannot palliate your most glaring Blunders, for such Charity still inclines me to think them, which you stand chargeable for to your Country; be satisfy'd that I scorn to upbraid You with any of the *little Actions*, You or any of your Creatures have done to me in particular. No, Sir, my private Resentment shall never keep back the too many and too just Complaints of my Country.

THE Season of the Year allows you some Interval for Thought; the busy Scenes of Action are for a while postponed, and every Thing seems to be in one uninterrupted Lethargy; your Opponents within Doors are retired to their rural Amusements, to inspect the melancholy Accompts of their decreasing Farms, and hear the doleful Murmurs of their Tenants, groaning under innumerable Taxes; your numerous Levee began to dwindle away and your *Flatterers* once contrary to their Symbol the *Flies*, withdraw from you, as the warm Season

Season approaches; your Emiffaries no longer crowd the Antichamber, but apply themselves in their feveral Stations to the grand Buſineſs of the enſuing general Election. 'Tis now, Sir, that for a while retreated from the buſtling World, the Country affords you a Sort of a *Piſgab Sight* of the Happineſs and Tranquility, which an *honeſt Statesman* might expect to meet with, after having ſerved his King and Country, in a long Series of ſucceſſful and well deſign'd Negotiations: But, alas, Sir! I am afraid, that, like *Moses*, tho' Heaven vouchſafes you a View of that promiſed Land, yet it has fix'd an impaſſable Barrier between Ye. On the contrary, unleſs that Inaction has poſſeſs'd you which your Enemies are ſo apt to charge you with, I can but think, what a Horror and Remorſe this little Space of Thought muſt occaſion in you. It muſt be a very ſenſible and ſtinging Reflection to a Man whole Life has been actuated by one continual Spirit of Ambition, to graſp at Power, and who having obtain'd that Power, hath exerciſed it to the utmoſt on thoſe who have honeſtly and vigorously oppoſed his Meaſures; I ſay, if ſuch an one be not entirely loſt to common Senſe and Reaſon, it muſt be a tacit Reproach to him to know that he is attended with the Curſes of his Fellow Subjects in his moſt private Amuſements, as he is with their open and avow'd

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Censures in his public Transactions. It must give Stings to the Wealth he has accumulated while he enjoys it, and the Tears of the Oppressed will imbitter the Cup of Delight even while he drinks it; while one blast of Fame honestly got and cheerfully bestow'd is a solid lasting Pleasure to those on whom he endeavours to wreak his Malice, and affords them more real Satisfaction, than all his Frowns and Menaces can Pain.

I SEIZE this Moment, when your more particular Avocations do not so immediately require your Presence, now the *Bowl* of Politicks runs smoothly, tho' slowly towards its Mark, without your *influencing Bias* to direct it; 'tis now, Sir, that you have an Opportunity to review your past Conduct, and new model your future: For which Purpose, let me earnestly intreat you, Sir, to look back on the Transactions of Twenty Years past; however the Review may chagrin you, it at the same Time will carry something very instructive in it; it is never too late to profit by Errors past, and no Man does, in the least, depreciate his Abilities by acknowledging what is amiss, and altering his succeeding Conduct, it is a tacit Confession, that not only his Heart is steadfast in the Business he undertakes, but that the Honesty of his Intentions hath withdrawn the Veil, which precipitate

capitate Resolution had spread over his Measures, and make both his Truth and Abilities more conspicuous. But this is only where the Good of the Common Weal is the fundamental Maxim of a Statesman; for where private Interest is the prevailing Passion, every Thing is just the Reverse, and he flies from one Intrigue to another to disguise the first, and keep the injured Sufferers from enquiring into his Conduct.

A Prime Minister, who has an Influence over his Monarch by his Counsels, and consequently over his Fellow Subjects by his Power, is marked out by Providence, either as an immediate Blessing, or a destroying Curse, to whatever Nation he shall live in. The good Minister defies the alluring Charms of private Lucre, and instead of endeavouring secretly to amass Treasures to himself is never so well pleased, as when the Affluence is general, and Liberty and Riches go hand in hand; his Master's and his Country's Honour is dearer to him than his own; he has no View but the public Good, and he scorns all little mean Artifices which cunning Men make use of to palliate their Villanies, and draw the generous undesigning Ones into their Snares.

A N ill Minister, is the greatest Pest,
that can befall any unhappy People; he
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saps the Foundations of their Liberties, makes them Slaves imperceptibly, till with their own Substance, he bribes them to betray each other. The first like a mild Star sheds its kindly Influence, the other like a baleful Comet blasts where-ever it comes. Which of the Characters you deserve, Sir, I will submit to your own private Thoughts, if tried by the Touchstone of your Actions.

THE constant Course of your Behaviour, since you have been in the Ministry, has been to keep Peace; in short, so peaceable have we been, and to such a Degree, that we were, at length, become a By-word to our Neighbours; *Peace is the only Blessing of a Trading Nation*, was a Maxim so strongly founded in our Ears, that it was next (as it were) to high Treason, even to mention War, or think of doing ourselves Justice for the many barbarous and unparallel'd Injuries we had sustain'd. We have indeed at last got to War, and I could wish a little more Vigour were allow'd to animate us, and that the usual pacific Leaven were remov'd, now we have an Opportunity, lest the whole Lump should be corrupted.

YOU'LL excuse me, Sir, if I remind you of some Occurrences for a few Years past, as they have appear'd to me, stripp'd from the false Gloss through which you may have

have view'd them ; which when I have done, I am firmly of Opinion, Sir, that you will at length join with me in acknowledging, that the precarious and expensive Peace we have sustain'd, (I can't say enjoy'd) for some Time past, has reduc'd us to a worse Situation than the most vigorous War would have done ; we have negociated ourselves almost out of all Manner of Business, and have treated so long to keep off War, that now it is come we scarce know how to prosecute it.

Y O U R Opinion, that Trade is encourag'd by Peace, is true in some Respects, but then it must be a firm establish'd Peace, and one settled on a good Foundation ; not such a gewgaw Phantom as hath been dressed up, and presented to us, for a Peace. And certainly our *good, trusty, and affectionate* Allies the *Dutch*, as well as our complaisant Friends the *French*, must for some Time past have laughed at our Conduct, like the Crow in the Fable, while we to comply with their Flattery have vainly endeavour'd at an idle Song, they have lain upon the Catch and robb'd us of our most valuable Commodities.

I believe it will be readily acknowledged, as an indisputable Point, that *France* is our *natural Enemy*. Have you treated her as such ? I do not know how Politicks

may be altered, since you have condescended to take the Weighty Affairs into the Herculean Hands of yourself and Bro---r; if we may judge by Actions and Effects of principal Causes, we may very reasonably conclude that the whole particular System is altered; all who in former times pretended to consult the Good of these Kingdoms (and there have been several who have had as much Pretence to it as your Honour) were of Opinion, That though we might sometimes be at Peace with *France*, yet it could never be our Interest to have a close Friendship with, or to put thorough Confidence in that Nation; that an Union of Councils between *France* and *Spain* might be of as dangerous Consequence to the Interests and Trade of *Great Britain*, as an Union of those two Crowns could be to the Liberties of *Europe*; and that for this Reason we ought to promote as much as possible, a good Understanding between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, and to foment if possible continual Jealousies and Animosities between *France* and *Spain*. Have you acted according to this System? No, on the reverse. Have you not shewn yourself a Dupe to *France*, in almost every Transaction? You have for the whole Course of your Administration, been, as I may say, playing into the Hands of *France*; that haughty Nation, which, in the Memory of all of us, was reduced to sue for Peace, has by that
very

very Peace, and thanks to our Indulgence, obtained almost all the Advantages which the Grand Monarch had plann'd out to himself, when big with the Expectations of the late War; They have run away with the best Part of our Trade, and are daily growing Great upon the Basis of our Ruin; 'tis true they keep well with us a while 'till they have reaped a few more Advantages, which when they have Effectcd, they have nothing more to do than throw off the Hypocritical Mask which they have wore so long; they will then declare their Sentiments openly, we shall have negociated and treated 'till we have nothing left to treat about; only think, what then must be our Condition? Our Trade destroyed, our Finances exhausted, forsok by our Allies, and despised by all the World; what can we expect but to be made a Colony to *France*. Heaven forbid that this should ever be the Case, yet this must inevitably be it, if we pursue your Measures another Century without Interruption, and Slavery must ensue.

You will sayy, at first View, that this looks like a very severe Charge, but examine the Series of our Transaction for some Years past, and it will prove it strictly true. How imperceptibly have we slid into every Snare they have laid for us. How implicitly have we complied with all their Measures. Nay, we have given them no great Trouble

ble to cajole us, for we ourselves have assisted them in the Deceit. What Infatuation could thus blind any Minister? Was it Fear? If once Timorousness gets Possession of the Breast of a *Premier*, what a miserable Condition must the People be in? Yet if it was not Fear, it must be the greatest Baseness of another Kind. That it could not be Fear, we are apt to conclude, because we have had such convincing Instances, not many Years since, that our Power properly applied is able to turn the Ballance of *Europe* which Way we pleas'd: Thus your Enemies are willing, and not without some Shadow of Reason, to take off the Charge of Misconduct, from the Motive of Timidity, and fix it on the other Alternative of meanly gratifying some *private Interest*: It is that, say they, which has so long sway'd our Councils, and while that prevails, where shall we seek Redress?

I confess, I do not so much attribute the Resolutions, which have so long been follow'd, so much to *Fear*, as *Ambition*; an inordinate Lust after Power, and an Apprehension lest any one should share in the Authority, which a Minister may think belongs to him alone. That this is the true Motive, I believe, all your Conduct, both Foreign and Domestic, will evince; as the Tenour of the Whole hath been to confirm your Power at Home. And here give
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me Leave to observe, that the Prejudice of Education will subsist, however remov'd in Life from its first Origin, and however Grandeur may exalt it; nay, that very Grandeur doth oftentimes serve only to render it more pernicious. The different Effects that the *Bar*, the *Pulpit*, or the *Field*, singly, have on our Councils, even when advanc'd in Years, and in Pursuit of Schemes of the most enterprizing Nature; and which require the greatest Perspicuity, without a particular Attachment to either, is so very visible, that it need only be mentioned to convince one of the Truth of it. You, Sir, who had the Advantage of an Education to qualify you for the Bar, have shewn so particular an Attachment thereto, that since Fate has selected you out, with whom to trust, as it were, the Rights of a whole People, you have pursu'd the Methods laid down in our Law Books, and by only varying the Appellations, have gone thro' the whole Course of the Courts; Treaties and Conventions have been substituted in the Place of Declarations, and Special Pleadings: But one Thing contrary to the Custom of most Lawyers, though we your unhappy Clients have often teiz'd you, till you have *signed Judgment* on our Enemies; yet, alas! we could never prevail upon you to carry it into *Execution*.

IN

IN Order to carry on your ambitious Schemes at Home, it was absolutely necessary for you to keep a good Understanding with *France*; no Matter for the General Good! What is the Welfare of the Nation, when the Power, Safety, and more important Ambition of a Minister is in Question? This, Sir, you wisely revolv'd in your Mind, further considering that a Prime Statesman, if he is not himself bred a General, ought of all Things to avoid War; for it is the first Element taught in the Modern School of Politicks, that every Honour, every Advantage that has or may accrue be the sole Work and Contrivance of the Statesman; therefore it is no Wonder that a Minister, who is entirely unacquainted with the Field, declines Fighting. What do the Clamours of an oppressed and plunder'd People avail? He knows his own Strength that it consists in Cunning, not in Force; and it is natural for all the Creation to fly in Times of Danger, to that Resource, where Instinct tells them they are most powerful; *Cunning*, when blended with Honesty, may be of infinite Service, and that it is so to a neighbouring Nation is certain; for I believe no one will dispute but what the Cardinal loves his Country; but where a Man has incurr'd the Disesteem of his Countrymen, the very same Principle of Cunning must necessarily be employ'd
to

to gloss over those Actions, which may have created that Disesteem ; like the poor Bird who dreads the piercing Eye of the Rattle Snake ; he will *hop* from Treaty to Treaty, as from Bough to Bough, to defer as long as possible his falling into the inevitable Destruction that attends him ; to such an one, War is as bad as immediate Death. Peace (however obtain'd) may a while flubber over his Inadvertencies, or what else you will please to call them, and keep People from enquiring more particularly into them ; but should a War ensue it brings all to Light, his dark Transactions can then no longer be a Secret ; if it be successful the Commander in Chief will eclipse his Glory, and perhaps retrench his Power, and if the War should prove unsuccessful, he may be made to answer for the Misfortune. This, I suppose, gave Rise to the only publicly avow'd Ministerial Maxim, I hinted at before, *That the greatest Happiness a Trading Nation could enjoy was Peace* : To effect which, and the only Means you could propose to enjoy an uninterrupted Tranquility, was by keeping up a close Correspondence with *France*, and taking Care not to enter into any Measures, but such as might be agreeable to that Court ; nor to refuse entering into such Measures, as they might think fit to propose : Provided we did not disoblige his Most Christian Majesty : You, doubtless,

concluded, that we might quarrel with any Power in *Europe*, or with all in their Turn, without involving the Nation into such a War, as might disturb his Repose; *France* certainly is the only Nation in *Europe*, that could, with any Probability of Success, play the *Pretender* upon us; and tho' they should fail in this, yet as we could not well carry on a War against *France*, without forming, or joining, in an Alliance with some of the Powers upon the Continent; such a War might render some one, or other, of our Generals, as considerable as the Duke of *Marlborough* was, in the Reign of Queen *Anne*, which would of Course make you but an *Appendix* to the *General*, instead of having all our *Generals* made nothing but *Appendixes* to you.

THESE were the dangerous Effects, which you might justly apprehend from a War with *France*; whereas, from a War, with any of the other Powers of *Europe*, you had nothing to fear, but the Interruption and Decay of our Trade; and that, I presume, could give you no great Uneasiness; because the Decay of Trade, however sensibly it might affect the Persons immediately concern'd therein, yet it could never reach our Taxes, and consequently you could never sensibly feel it in your Life Time; and surely no wise Man will give himself any Trouble about what may happen

pen to his Country, after his Death? If he did, what Horror must you undergo at reviewing your past Conduct.

It is incredible to think, what an Influence the *French* have had over us for this long Time; and I am sorry to say, that even yet I am afraid it continues. It began thro' your particular Attachment thereto, and I may say, that your great Master in Politicks, the Cardinal, leads you as it were in a String, and you follow him submissively in every Path he treads. To go no further back, than the Year 1721, at the Instigation of our beforementioned Friends, we concluded a seperate Treaty with *Spain*, and at the same Time and Place a defensive Alliance with *France* and *Spain*, to which the Emperor, our antient and natural Ally, in the War against *Spain*, was not so much as invited to accede, tho' by an express Article, it was agreed, that the *Dutch* should; so that it seem'd as if the Alliance had been intended expressly against the *Emperor*. This of Course established a good Understanding between *France* and *Spain*, as on the contrary it gave great Disgust to the Emperor, and was perhaps one of the principal Motives for setting up the *Ostend Company*. This Proceeding was directly repugnant to what I laid down above as the deliberate Result

of our Forefathers, and the true Interest of our Nation.

THE famous *Congress of Cambray* followed hard upon, and cut out fresh Work for our very wise Negotiators; one while their whole Study was to reduce the *overgrown Power* of the House of *Austria*, then immediately to make up the double Differences between *France* and *Spain*, and between *Spain* and the *Emperor*; and then, Sir, was the Time that we may say you was at the utmost Pitch of Delight; because, for these Purposes we were oblig'd to carry on separate Negotiations at the Courts of *Paris*, *Madrid*, and *Vienna*, which you have always found serviceable in a double Capacity, as it enables the *Great Men*, we send abroad, upon such Occasions, to display their inestimable Talents, and to encrease the Perquisites of your worthy Friends, the Messengers at Home.

IN the mean Time, the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* concluded an Alliance, without our Participation. This again gave us the Alarm:— To conclude a Treaty, without our having a Share in the Negotiation, was a great Affront, for it seems to be your Opinion, Sir, we ought to allow no Power in *Europe* to make Peace, without giving us an Opportunity to make a Speech,
 not

nor to allow any of them to quarrel with another, without giving us an Opportunity to fit out a Squadron.

F R A N C E, being somewhat disgusted at the abovementioned Treaty, soon work'd us to her Purpose, and immediately follow'd the necessary and artful Treaty of *Hanover*. What Advantage we reap'd from thence I can't justly say, it is true it occasion'd our sending strong Squadrons of Men of War to the *West Indies* and *Mediterranean*; where many of our brave Seamen dropt off like rotten Sheep, without ever daring to engage the Foe. Who shall we say were answerable for their Lives? It must shudder any Man who has the least Spark of Humanity, to imagine he sees the pale Ghosts of his Countrymen thus destroy'd, attending his Levee, and with horrid Reproaches accusing him, as the sole Author of their Ruin.

NEXT to this came the celebrated Treaty of *Seville*; of which I shall only observe, that *France* by that got every Thing she could wish for.

INDEED, when the antient Alliance was renew'd, in the Year 1731. between *Germany*, *Holland*, and *Great Britain*, every Body imagin'd, that you had chang'd your Maxims, and was from thenceforth resolv'd to pursue a different Scheme of Politics;
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for no Body could ever have dreamt at that Time that *France* had consented to your entering into that Alliance ; but your Behaviour afterwards, when the *Emperor* was attack'd by *Spain*, *France*, and *Sardinia* convinced every Body, that *France* had not only conniv'd at that Alliance ; but had, I suppose, order'd you to advise us to it in Order to fix his Imperial Majesty's Dependance upon the Maritime Powers, and how justly he might depend upon them, woful Experience has told him.

AFTER the Treaty concluded at *Vienna*, between Us and the *Emperor*, in the Year 1731, another Treaty was concluded at *Vienna*, the same Year, between the *Emperor*, *Spain*, and Us ; in which there is an Article that seems to be a Proof of our being then sensible, that we had been impos'd on, with Regard to the secret Articles between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, in the Year 1725 ; but suppose we had been sooner sensible of this Imposition, yet it would have made a Breach between *France* and Us, which must not have been upon any Account whatsoever : Especially, as it gave us the Honour of being at the sole Expence of settling Don *Carlos* in *Italy*, tho' according to the *Punto* of *Spanish* Pride, it was an Honour he took Care not to allow us.

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DURING all the Time, to the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Seville*, *Spain* had set up several unjust Claims and Pretences, under Colour of which she had plunder'd or taken many of our Merchant Ships, both in the *Mediterranean* and the *West Indies*, especially the latter ; *France* took Care, in the Treaty of *Seville*, that none of the Claims, or Pretences, should be expressly determined.

IN the Year 1732, we were told of nothing but lasting Peace, and you particularly triumph'd in that View ; but alas in 1733, the King of *Poland's* Death occasioned fresh Commotions : Whether we ought to have taken Part with the Emperor or no, in the War he was then engag'd in, I leave to you, Sir, who are a nice Judge of Honour, to determine : But thus much I must say, that nothing but our inviolable Attachment to the *most Christian Court*, could have prevented our doing so.

To bring it down to the present Times. What has *Spain* been doing for these Seven Years past, but raising new Doubts and Cavils, and heaping new Injuries upon the old ? *France* has been underhand supporting her in her Depredations, and cajoling us into useless and fallacious Treaties, &c.
even

even down to the ever memorable CONVENTION. And all this is owing to your *Complaisance*, and the Cardinal's *Wisdom* and *Policy*; for the *French* got such a Rap on the Fingers, by Means of the open Ambition of *Lewis XIV.* that they have ever since chang'd their Measures; they then laid open Siege to the Liberties of *Europe*, but now they carry it on by the *Sap*, and *we* whom they could never cordially esteem, are destin'd to be the Victims of their Cunning.

AFTER this cursory View, can it be denied, that every one of your Actions speaks you either afraid of, or attach'd to *France*. Now let us take a Survey of what has been done since our Declaration of War; which will naturally bring us to consider our *great Armament*, and to what our *present Expeditions* are likely to tend.

EVERY Nation, when it undertakes a just and necessary War, prosecutes it with Vigor; but will any one say we have done so? For God's Sake what has been done on any Hand, but what Admiral *Vernon* hath done, and his Actions and Success is entirely owing to his own personal Bravery, and the unfeign'd Love his small Forces bear him. Here two Years are elapsed, and what has been done all that Time?

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Why we have indeed all the Shew and Preparation of War, but without the enlivening Vigour; the Merchants complain'd that their Trade was interrupted, to protect which, a strong Squadron was sent to the *Mediterranean*, has it protected our Ships? No, on the contrary, do not their Privateers swarm in our Channel, to the Terror and utter Ruin of many of our Traders?

THERE was a Motion made last Sessions in *your House*, by a worthy Gentleman, That the Captains of His Majesty's Men of War, who had for some time before been order'd to cruise in and about the Channel, should lay before the House their respective Journals, and give an Account, how far they answer'd the Intent of sending them out. Was there any thing unreasonable in this Motion? Or, was it any thing but what was reasonable to be imagin'd would be enquir'd into? If we have Men of War upon a Cruise, and have daily and hourly fresh Advices of some unhappy Ship or other falling into the Enemy's Hands, is it not natural to ask, what those Men of War are doing, especially, when above forty of our Ships have been taken and carried into as bad as an *Algerine* Slavery, when not above two or three of these Privateers have been destroy'd in all the *European* Seas? This Motion was therefore look'd on as a laudable one by the *Minority*: but for what Reason, I know not, was (according to Custom) rejected by the *Majority*. Is it thro' Complaisance to *France*,

or Fear of the *Spaniards* that we thus suffer with Impunity daring Robberies that our most trifling Force is able to quell? I remember in the late War Things were upon quite another Footing, in Regard to the Spirit we exerted, as we are now superior to what we were then in our warlike Preparations. If the *Neutrality of France* is to be a continual Bugbear to us, we had better for our own Sakes be at open Variance with her, tho' indeed it is much more beneficial to her to keep us in the Suspence we are now in, it answers every End of her's, gives her Time to equip her Fleets, strengthen her Land Forces, and get her Finances in good Order, at the same time that they impoverish us, by keeping up Forces for the Expectation of their breaking into a Rupture, at a great national Expence, without the least apparent Advantage. We have likewise been threaten'd with Invasions, and then it was preach'd up how serviceable our Navy should make such an Attempt, e'er they could reach our Shores; but I would observe, that if our Navy cannot keep off a few small Vessels from plundering us in Sight of our very Sea-ports, how can we expect them to defend us from a formidable Fleet, or Armada?

As to the Fleet, under the Command of Admiral *Haddock*, I have deliver'd my Sentiments of it in another Place, that I thought he had done nothing worthy Notice. And the favourite Thing of all which he was commended for, *viz.* blocking up the Bay of *Cales*

Cales was a very useless ill judg'd Piece of Service, and as I then further observ'd, I could not in Charity but doubt that his Instructions bound up his Hands; for that a Man so gallant as I know him to be would not otherwise have remain'd so long in a State of Inaction, but as I know your Intelligence to be pretty quick, I need not remind you what I then or there said, nor here repeat it; I shall only add this Observation, that if Admiral *Bing* attempted the Fleet at *Messina*, in the Year 1718, when certainly we had not the same Cause to attack *Spain*, as at this present Time, I think the *British* Fleet must cut a very contemptible Figure, not only in the Eyes of all neutral Powers, but even of our Enemies themselves, after having lain two Years to watch the Motions of, and block up, a Fleet in its Harbour, and yet to let it escape at last.

THE Nation does not accuse her Commanders of these Neglects; no, Sir, they are so prepossess'd in Favour of them, and the Demerits of Somebody else, that I need not inform you at what Quarter their Clamours point; and give me Leave to tell you, Sir, that to how great a Degree soever a Minister may be Master of the Purse of the People, if he don't possess their Hearts, his Foundation is bad, and sooner or later all the Superstructure must fall to Pieces.

THE same *Indolence*, *Fear*, or whatever it may be stil'd, which hath so long delay'd this just and necessary War, seems still to be

predominant : Preparations are making, 'tis true, but slowly, and to so little Purpose, that if no Opportunity should offer for a Treaty, we may perhaps be convinc'd that we are at War, about three Years after the Declaration : In short, Sir, you must excuse me if I speak my real Sentiments and tell you, that I am apprehensive there is some latent Mischief, some hidden Scene of Iniquity, which some People may be afraid will be brought to Light, if the War should be prosecuted with the Vigour, which the Parliament have enabl'd, and the People are desirous it should be ; else why do we proceed with such Deliberation ? You went into this War with Reluctance, and it is really prosecuted with too much Diffidence and Precaution ; your whole Conduct seems to tend to the quieting People at Home, at the Expence of their Fame and Reputation abroad.

I know your Reply to this will be with your usual scornful Smile, what wou'd these People have ? What would they be at ? Are we not going to send Reinforcements to their Darling *Vernon* ?---And is not Sir *John Norris* gone out ? Had we ever a better Fleet ? or ever better mann'd ?

ALL this we allow, but still there remains this plain Question to ask you, Sir, and I think a very reasonable one, *Why was not all this done in the Beginning of the War ?* Had we immediately upon the Declaration endeavour'd to have struck a decisive Stroke, and succeeded therein, which in all human Probability

Probability we might, it would not only have sav'd several of our Merchant Ships, and great Numbers of our Sailors from being taken, but would have made the *Spaniards* more submissive, and ready to comply with our Terms; whilst our Delay, and going on in this *piddling* Manner, in a just and honourable War, gives them Time to prevail on *France* to succour them, and to equip two formidable Squadrons, which at that Time were far from being ready; and here, Sir, let me repeat another Instance of Perfidy in your very good Friends, the *French*, they pretend the strictest Neutrality during this War; but where is their Neutrality, when most of the *Spanish* Ships are mann'd with *Frenchmen*, and our own Subjects who are first inveigl'd from Home into their Armies, on Account of their being *Roman Catholics*; and, I believe, could it be known we should find, that scarce one third of the Enemy's Forces is made up of *Spaniards*, so that tho' *Spain* has declar'd War against us, we fight in Fact against *Irish Papists* frenchified, and *Frenchmen*. And how can any Nation be said to observe Neutrality, when she clandestinely assists any one of the contending Powers? The calm Cardinal indeed has condescended to let you know, that as long as you make no great Conquests, or considerable Acquisitions; *Spain* and you may beat one another for the Diversion of *Europe*, and he will not intermeddle, but at the same Time kindly insinuates, that if you break
his

his Orders, he will make one amongst ye. Hitherto we have conform'd to his Directions, but how will he relish these two threatened Expeditions ?

As to the first, it is well known how strenuous all Ranks of Men have been for supporting Mr. *Vernon*; Party has been thrown aside, and all agree that encreasing his Force is for the Good of the Nation. Had these Forces been sent him, when it was first propos'd, we might in all Probability by this Time have been Masters of the *Havanna*; but what will Conquests avail, if one inglorious Treaty should come and sweep them all back again ?---- But before we enter into that, give me Leave, Sir, just to mention one Thing to you.

THERE appears to me to be a very bad Choice in the Troops design'd for Admiral *Vernon*, my Sphere of Action has been confined to Land Forces only, and of them only I shall speak : I say, there is a manifest Error in sending the Forces that are encamp'd in the Isle of *Wight* to the *West Indies*. The Climate requires hardy Soldiers that have been enur'd to Toil and Labour, and to bear Hardships, not a Parcel of Boys that have been gather'd up in a Hurry, and being sent away at once, raw and undisciplin'd, are scarce able to bear an Encampment, and are half dead before they embark, yet these are such you are going to send the brave Admiral, who in all Probability will have the greatest Scene of Action;

tion ; for God's Sake, why must not some of our regular Troops be sent to him ? No, so fond are we of a domestic standing Army, that we must not expose them to Danger, but keep them at Home to make a *Sunday May Day*, for the Populace. However such as you please let him have, and I don't question, but he will do what is in the Power of Man for his Country's Glory, and his own.

As to the other, I need only mention the Admiral's Name to inspire every *Englishman* with the greatest Idea that can be form'd of whatever he shall undertake, and I could have wish'd for the Sake of the Nation, that he had undertook this Expedition sooner ; should any Accident happen that might interrupt the Success, he may possibly expect, which might join the *French* and *Spaniards*, who is to blame but you ? — You could expect no other even before the War began, and to stand upon the vain Presumption of their *Neutrality* betrays a more abject Fear in you than any you have ever yet express'd. You know the *French* have several Times had the Audacity to insult and deride the once so much boasted Honour of Our Flag, and should they meet our Admiral, and repeat that Insolence, whatever prevailing Arguments you may have met with to put it up at Home, I dare venture to say, he will not suffer it to pass with Impunity. In short, Sir, we can now expect Nothing but a Rupture with *France*, which, I own I apprehend, will be of no
Detriment

Detriment to the Public, however, it may embarrass the Cabinet. For this, I firmly believe, that tho' our *Ministry* has but few Friends in the Councils of any State in *Europe*, except *France*; yet the *Nation* has many, and that tho' none of our antient Allies can put any Confidence in the M---y, yet they know by Experience they may in the Nation, when our Government is directed by the Voice of the People.

AND now, Sir, suffer me to take my Leave, and assure you, that as I retain the highest Veneration, and Sense of Duty to his Majesty, and his August Family, I as heartily despise and abhor some who are unhappily for Him plac'd too near Him, whom though I have no MALICE to the MEN; yet I shall always think it my Honour publickly to testify, that I abhor their MEASURES.

To you in particular, Sir, ——— Whenever I am convinc'd, that you have nothing but the Honour and Welfare of *Great Britain* at Heart, for that one Consideration, burying every Thing else in Oblivion, I shall with Pleasure subscribe myself,

S I R,

Your Friend,

A-----.

